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ABSTRACT

Economic decline in a community offering opportunities for higher education was studied as a contributing factor to extensive upward mobility among persons beginning their occupational careers. One process through which mobility into professional occupations by individuals whose fathers were manual workers ("elite" mobility) was documented--the need for the children of blue-collar workers to escape the industrial decline in their local community. Evidence came from the high levels of mobility into professional and managerial occupations experienced by graduates from blue-collar backgrounds in the 1946 class of a rust-belt community high school. For men, the mobility into higher status professional and managerial occupations arose primarily from the large proportion who continued with postsecondary education in the face of declining job opportunities at the local level. Very few women took advanced degrees. Only three women were in the higher professions or management, but a sizable minority achieved lower-status positions in these occupations. Women improved their participation in lower-status professions and management by leaving the community. Compared to noncollege men who moved, more of those remaining in the community were in lower management, few in high management, and none in the professions. (Appendixes include a list of 21 references and 3 tables.) (Author/YLB)

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# COMMUNITY DECLINE AS A GENERATOR OF "ELITE" MOBILITY:

## A GENDER ANALYSIS

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# COMMUNITY DECLINE AS A GENERATOR OF "ELITE" MOBILITY: A GENDER ANALYSIS


## ABSTRACT

Community decline may promote "long distance" occupational mobility by young adults if avenues encouraging such mobility are available. Evidence comes from the high levels of mobility into professional and managerial occupations experienced by graduates from blue collar backgrounds in the 1946 class of a rust-belt community high school. For men the mobility into higher status professional and managerial occupations arose primarily from the large proportion who continued with post-secondary education in the face of declining job opportunities at the local level. Very few women took advanced degrees. Only three were in the higher professions or management, but a sizable minority achieved lower-status positions in these occupations. Women improved their participation in lower-status professions and management by leaving the community. Compared to Non-college men who moved, more of those remaining in the community were in lower-management, fewer in high management and none in the professions.


KEY WORDS:occupational mobility; elite mobility; gender; geographic mobility; post-secondary education.

# COMMUNITY DECLINE AS A GENERATOR OF "ELITE" MOBILITY: A GENDER ANALYSIS

Since the 1960's the study of occupational mobility in the United States has been carried on primarily in national and cross-national terms (e.g. Lipset and Bendix, 1960; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Hauser, Dickinson, Travis and Koffel, 1975; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1985; Hout, 1988; Guest, Landale and McCann, 1989; Wong, 1990). These national and cross-national studies fail to explore the historical circumstances within particular regions or localities that affect patterns of occupational mobility. It is the varied experience of social mobility among these sub-groups which taken together forms the complex mosaic that makes up national patterns. There have been a number of studies in recent years, most particularly historical studies, which have analyzed occupational mobility in terms of regions or localities (e.g. Hopkins, 1973; Hardy, 1989; Landale and Guest, 1990).

In this paper we look at patterns of "elite" occupational mobility among men and women who graduated from high school in a community we shall call Rail City shortly before it lost most of its principal industrial base. By "elite" mobility we mean movement into managerial and professional positions of persons whose fathers were in manual occupations.

Rust-belt communities, such as Rail City, dot the United States. The loss of major industries in these cities is usually considered a disaster for the local work force. For young persons just entering the work force, however, such a loss may result in large scale structural mobility and may encourage mobility into higher-status occupations by increasing the salience of higher education as an option to early entrance into the labor market.

Our purpose in this paper is to test the proposition that economic

decline in a community offering opportunities for higher education may contribute to extensive upward mobility among persons beginning their occupational careers. In doing so we explore the divergent patterns for men and women.

## The United States as the Land of Opportunity: Evidence from National Studies

An important part of American ideology is that those persons who make sufficient effort can "get ahead." In contrast to "older" countries (e.g. European nations) America is a "land of opportunity." Most studies of social mobility as measured by intergenerational occupational mobility, however, have not supported this ideology. Lipset and Bendix (1960) found that the rate of occupational mobility from manual to non-manual occupations in the U.S. was similar to the rates reported for nine other countries. Hauser *et al.* (1975) discovered that post-World War II occupational mobility in the U.S. was primarily a function of the changing occupational structure. Erikson and Goldthorpe (1985) found that the opportunity for upward mobility in occupational status was not exceptionally high in the U. S. compared with Sweden and , to a lesser extent, with England. They did note, however, that there was mounting evidence for national variations in occupational mobility (Cf. Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1979,1983). More recently, Wong (1990) concluded that there were different patterns of mobility in the seven nations he studied with the United States among the more open.

## Elite Mobility, Materialism and the Ideology of an Open Occupational Structure in the United States

In light of research findings that fail to support consistently the view

of the United States as possessing a more open occupational structure than other industrial societies, it is difficult to explain the persistence of this ideological perspective. Expanding on Lipset and Bendix (1960, pp. 17-28) Blau and Duncan (1967, pp. 432-441) offer an explanation for this ideology regarding occupational achievement in the United States based, in part, on high rates of mobility into professional occupations by men whose fathers were manual workers. They claim high rates of this "long distance" (i.e. elite) mobility in conjunction with the importance of material possessions as an indicator of social status in the United States helps to create the impression of an open society. The wealth of the United States permits the widespread dissemination of possessions within the population and so a sense of achievement. The emphasis on occupational and material achievement in contrast to such things as family background in defining status creates the impression of a relatively open status structure.

Two recent studies have presented conflicting evidence on the viability of Blau and Duncan's argument that elite mobility contributes to the perception of an open status structure in the United States. One is the paper by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1985) noted above. They report findings that fail to substantiate distinctly higher rates of elite mobility for the United States than for Sweden or England. In contrast, Hout (1988) presents evidence that reveals the relatively stable overall mobility rate for the United States between 1972 and 1985 is composed of a decline in structural mobility and an increase in mobility related to higher levels of education within the work force. For men with a college education he found no relationship between origin status and destination status. The increase in the proportions of the work force with a college education means that the occupational structure is becoming more open simultaneously with a decline in structural mobility.

The findings reported by Hout (1988) suggest that the Blau-Duncan thesis regarding the efficacy of elite mobility as a buttress supporting the ideology of an open occupational structure has some merit. Historically, a principal means of obtaining an elite,occupation has been through a college degree and in recent decades increasing numbers of young persons from blue-collar families have been able to earn such degrees.

In this paper we analyze "elite" mobility in microcosm. By doing so we are able to document one process through which such mobility can occur; the need for the children of blue-collar workers to escape the industrial decline in their local community.

## Methodology

There are two high schools in Rail City,. One is public and the other Catholic. In 1946 the public high school enrolled about 85% of the city's high school students, 99% of whom were Caucasian. Questionnaires were sent to the 1946 graduates of the public high school in 1978. The addresses came from a 1976 alumni reunion handbook which gave home addresses for all but 18 of the living graduates. The return rate was 76% for a total of 582 respondents, 352 women and 230 men. Six respondents indicated that they had not received their high school diplomas but were kept in the sample.

From information in the handbook, it was possible to compare respondents with non-respondents on sex, marital status, residence and occupation. Analyses showed no meaningful differences between the two groups on sex, marital status and residence. Non-respondent men, however, were a a little more likely to be in higher-status occupations than respondents. Among women, non-respondents were more likely to be housewives, but respondent and non-respondent women in the labour force did not differ significantly by type of

occupation.

Respondents provided information on level of education and occupation for themselves and their fathers. We used the U.S. Census "Intermediate Occupational Classification for Males...with Component Detailed Items" to classify occupations (Cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973, pp. app-28-App-30.) Because some of the census occupational categories lump together occupations that differ greatly in social status, we divided some categories into two, reflecting higher and lower status. These latter included the professional and managerial occupations employed in this analysis. The objective was to organize occupations in a manner more closely resembling a status continuum than would otherwise be the case. Occupational data were coded twice with an intercoder reliability of .89. Examples of higher-status professionals would be dentists, doctors, accountants, lawyers, ministers of the church and college professors. Lower-status professionals would include nurses and public school teachers. Higher-status managers would include bank presidents, college administrators and postmasters while elementary and secondary school administrators, funeral directors, railroad conductors, foremen and office managers would be lower status.

These four categories of professionals and managers define "elite" occupations in this study. They include most of the occupations used by Blau and Duncon (1967, p. 434), who define elite occupations as the census category, "professional, technical and kindred" workers. Our definition is much broader, however since it also includes Management positions. We have done so because management is an alternative to the professions as an avenue to higher occupational status. One notable difference between careers in management and those in the professions is that the former are not as closely associated with formal education. This situation holds especially for the

jobs we classified as lower management.

Because we include the entire range of professional and managerial occupations in our definition of "elite" occupations, it is probably more appropriate to describe them as "higher status." Our reason for using the term "elite" is to indicate that most of these occupations represent "long distance" occupational mobility in the sense of Blau and Duncan for persons from blue-collar families.

For this analysis we use a sub-sample composed of high school graduates whose fathers were manual workers (i.e. craftsmen, operatives or laborers). The sample contains 185 women of whom 123 were in the labor market and 113 men, all of whom were currently, or had been, in the work force.

Information on Rail City was obtained through a variety of sources. These included newspaper files, the local public library, personal inquiries and the state library.

In the analyses below we have used statistical significance ($p<.05$) where feasible as an indication that particular relationships are meaningful. Since our sample represents most of our universe, however, we have not limited our analyses to those relationships significant in the statistical sense.

## The Social and Economic Context of '46ers' Educational and Occupational Decisions: Patterns of Opportunity and Constraint

The post-World War II years brought great change in the national economy and rapid growth to post-secondary education. Both of these major structural changes impinged on Rail City and the class of '46.

### *Rail City: A Community in Decline*

Prior to World War II Rail City was an important railroad manufacturing

and repair center. With the switch to diesel locomotives in the 1950's, the railroad greatly reduced its operations in the City and so precipitated a sharp economic decline. Efforts to attract heavy industry that would employ the many skilled craftsmen in the community had little success. New industries attracted to Rail City were mostly light manufacturing concerns employing a large proportion of women. The consequence of this shift from a community dominated by a single heavy industry to a mixed economy made up of many small companies was a decrease in population from a high of 80,000 people in 1940 to 57,000 in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1943, Vol. 2, Pt. 6, p. 196; 1983, Vol. I, Chap. 3:40, p. 34).

*Constraint and Opportunity in 46ers' Career Decisions*

The shift from dominance by a single heavy industry to a mixed economy in Rail City greatly reduced the opportunity for men in Rail City High's class of '46 to become skilled-blue-collar workers in their home community. Since 43% of men in this class had fathers who were craftsmen, the inability to follow in their father's footsteps was an issue that faced a very sizable minority of them.

A number of factors encouraged 46er men from blue-collar families to seek post-secondary education in the face of a depressed local job market. First, they had a high school diploma from a school which was selected in 1946 as one of the 100 educational systems and institutions in the United States to be included in an Honor Role of American Public Schools published by a leading magazine (Logan, 1946). Although 82% of their fathers and 72% of their mothers were not high school graduates, the parents showed some interest in formal education by supporting their children through high school. The opportunity to attend college was enhanced by the expansion after World War II

of a local two-year campus associated with the state university. This campus was designed to feed third year students to the main campus fifty miles distant. The influx of returning servicemen into colleges and universities after the war had done much to raise expectations about the viability of a college education among young people from working-class backgrounds. Finally, 88% of 46er men from working-class backgrounds served in the armed forces. Many of them were eligible for educational benefits derived from service immediately after World War II or from service during the Korean conflict.

The situation of 46er women differs greatly from that of the men. At a time when employment opportunities for men were declining in Rail City, opportunities for women were, if anything, increasing, although they were mostly lower-status jobs. Women who wished to continue their education beyond high school were not as likely to have available the financial resources of their male peers. The widespread expectation that daughters would become full-time housewives and mothers provided a rationale for expending scarce finances on the education of sons.

## Educational Achievements of 46ers from Blue-Collar Families

Table 1 presents the educational attainment of 46er men and women whose fathers were blue-collar workers (i.e. craftsmen, operatives or laborers). Sixty-five percent of 46er men from blue-collar families obtained some sort of post-secondary education with 10% graduating from college and an additional 25% doing work beyond the bachelor's degree. Altogether 35% had a college education or more. Among a slightly younger cohort of white males in the general population only 14.2% had a bachelor's degree or beyond (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971, p. 192).

In contrast to 46er men, 64% of 46er women from blue-collar homes did

not take any formal schooling beyond high school. Only 2% obtained a bachelor's degree and only 4% continued beyond the bachelor's for a total of 6% with a bachelor's or more. This figure is comparable to the 7.8% with an equivalent education among a slightly younger cohort of white women in the general population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971, p. 192).

(Table 1 about here)

It is apparent from Table 1 that the decline of Rail City provided sons of manual workers with an opportunity for considerable mobility into higher-status occupations based on formal education at the bachelor's level and beyond. For most 46er women from blue-collar families the implied outcome was for lower-status manufacturing and white-collar jobs associated with a high-school education.

Education and Geographic Dispersion of 46er Men and Women

The desire for further education promoted the dispersion of young people from Rail City. In order to complete a bachelor's degree Rail City students had to continue their education at the State College fifty miles distant or at some other out-of-town institution.

Table 2 shows the extent of permanent out-migration from Rail City by 46er men and women from blue-collar families associated with post-secondary education. The overall proportions of men and women who left Rail City are very similar, being just under 70% for both. The level of out-migration by 46er men and women is a little higher than the figure of Blau and Duncan who report that "...about three-fifths of adult men [live] outside the community in which they were raised" (Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 255). The extent of out-migration from Rail City rises steeply, however, by level of education for

both 46er men and women. The proportions among women increasing from 60% with a high-school education to 92% of those with college or more. The number of cases is small but the pattern in the percentages is consistent. For men the increase is from 46% out-migrants among high-school graduates to 89% among men with education beyond the bachelor's degree.

(Table 2 about here)

## "Elite" Mobility among 46er Men and Women from Working-Class Backgrounds.

Our intention in this paper is to consider elite mobility in the spirit of Blau and Duncan's (1967, p. 432-441) formulation, but we cannot make a direct comparison with them for two reasons. First, Blau and Duncan's analysis is based on the general population and we are dealing with a cohort from Rail City who were 1946 high school graduates. As such, they began their adult life in an advantageous position relative to their peers who were high school dropouts. Second, as noted above, our definitions of elite mobility differ. Although direct comparison with Blau and Duncan is not possible, their estimate of elite mobility in the United States does provide a bench mark against which to judge the extent of mobility into the professions experienced by 46ers.

In Table 3 we present the proportions of 46er men and women from blue-collar backgrounds who moved into professional and managerial occupations by education (college or not) for the total sample and by residence (Rail City or not). The figures in Table 3 show, as we expected, that 46ers from blue-collar families were much more likely to move into the professions than their peers nationally. Blau and Duncan reported that 10.41% of men from families

in which the father was a manual worker moved into "professional, technical and kindred" occupations. Because of the way we coded data, we decided to make a comparison with Blau and Duncan's "professional, technical and kindred workers" using only our professional category. Employing this conservative procedure we have 27% of 46er men and 15% of women from blue-collar backgrounds who are professionals; that means 46er men were over two and one-half times as likely to be in the professions as the general population cohort reported on by Blau and Duncan. The 46er women were just under one and one-half times more likely to be in the professions as this cohort of *men*. Sixteen percent, or one out of six of 46er men was in the higher professions, but only one woman was in this occupational group.

(Table 3 about here)

The proportion of 46er men with blue-collar fathers who moved into higher management positions (14%) is almost as high as that for the higher professions, but only two women entered higher management. On the other hand, sizable proportions of both men (23%) and women (19%) were in lower management. Altogether 64% of 46er men and 37% of 46er women from blue-collar families had some sort of professional or managerial career.

*Education and Mobility into Elite Occupations*

The movement by 46ers with blue-collar fathers into the professions and, to a lesser extent, management was very much affected by the educational opportunities afforded them. Nearly three out of five men with college or more were in the professions with two of them in the higher professions. By contrast only one in ten of non-college men were in the professions with a grand total of three in higher-status positions.[1] It is only among the lower-

level managers that non-college men predominate with 29% in this occupational category compared to 12% among college men.

There are too few women with a college education or more (i.e. 10) in Table 3 to make meaningful comparisons with non-college peers, although college women do have a greater concentration in the lower professions than their non-college contemporaries. The figures for non-college educated women attest to the effectiveness of the glass ceiling in limiting the occupational mobility of women. As expected, none of these women were in the higher professions, but we anticipated greater success among managers. In fact, of the 21% who were managers, only two were in higher management. Among their non-college male peers, 40% were in management with 11% of these men in higher status positions.

The total proportions with higher status occupations in Table 3 point to the importance of a college education or more for "elite" mobility. Eighty-eight percent of men and 8 out of 10 women from working-class families but with at least a college education had some sort of managerial or professional occupation compared to 49% of men and 33% of women without a college degree.

*Geographic Mobility and Elite Occupational Status*

We know from Table 2 that a majority of 46er men and women from blue-collar backgrounds left Rail City and that this trend was especially pronounced among those who went to college. Did leaving Rail City have an effect on "elite" mobility?

In general, geographic mobility is associated with improvement in occupational status (Blau and Duncan, 1967,p.271-275). This association arises, in part, from the greater number of options open to persons not limited by the jobs available in a particular locality. The 46ers we are

studying seem to be a classic example of a group for whom geographic mobility would enhance occupational opportunities. Not only is Rail City a predominately working-class community, it was suffering from economic disruption during the 46er's young adult years.

We explore the connection between geographic and occupational mobility for our respondents in Table 3, although the small number of cases, especially of the college educated, severely limits the analysis. The effect of out-migration on occupational attainment among 46er men from blue-collar families depends on how we define "elite" occupations. If we use the definition we have employed so far in this paper, the effect is marginal at best. The relationship between residence in or out of Rail City is in the expected direction with 52% of the those remaining in the community holding higher status occupations compared to 68% of those who left, but it is not statistically significant. When we control on education and look at the effect of residence, conclusions must be very tentative, because of the limited number of cases, especially for the college educated in Rail City. The figures indicate, however, that occupational mobility does not differ much by residence. For non-college men this result is accounted for by the large proportion (38%) residing in Rail City who had lower-management jobs.

If we eliminate lower-level management positions from the definition of "elite" occupations, the occupational advantage of non-college blue-collar men who left Rail City becomes pronounced and statistically significant. The patterns for the college men are not much affected by this change in definition, but there are so few college men in Rail City that comparisons with college out-migrants are only suggestive.

Comparisons on mobility into higher status occupations among 46er women from blue-collar families by residence with education controlled are even more

difficult than for their male peers. The difficulty stems from the fact that only one college-educated woman returned to Rail City and only 10 women in total had a college education or more. In general, however, the occupational gains among 46er women who moved away from Rail City were more modest than those of of their male peers, being derived almost entirely from the higher proportions of geographically mobile women in the lower professions and lower management. The women, unlike their male peers, only reveal a statistically significant occupational advantage in favor of those who left Rail City, when both lower-professional and lower-management positions are included in the definition of "elite" occupations.

## Discussion

The data in this paper show that specific sub-groups within the population of the United States in special circumstances may have very high proportions of "elite" mobility. It would appear that one of the conditions which may help to precipitate large-scale-intergenerational mobility from working-class backgrounds into professional and managerial occupations is the industrial decline that characterizes rust-belt communities. This decline forces massive structural mobility on those young adults in these communities whose fathers make up the industrial work force. Our analyses indicate that poor local employment prospects associated with opportunities for higher education can lead to large-scale mobility into higher-status occupations.

The availability of higher education is crucial for movement into the more prestigious professional and managerial occupations, as the very different occupational outcomes among 46er men and women from blue-collar families indicate. The concentration of the women in lower-level professional and managerial positions is not only evidence of the educational barriers

faced by women in mid-century America but also of the widely discussed glass ceiling faced by women in higher-status occupations (Blau and Ferber, 1987, p. 41;Dipboye, 1987). Educational discrepancies are much reduced in recent years, but assaults on the glass ceiling have proved less effective (cf. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990, p. 61. In spite of the impediments to occupational advancement confronting 46er women from working-class backgrounds, a sizable proportion of them were able to move into higher-status positions, most notably the handful of women who succeeded in obtaining a college education or more.

In general, geographic moves are associated with improvement in occupational status (e.g. Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 250-253). In general our findings on mobility into higher-status occupations by 46ers from blue-collar families support this proposition. For non-college men, however, this relationship is confined to the professions and higher management. The direction of the relationship is reversed among those in lower management. This latter pattern indicates that a sizable minority of non-college men who persevered in the local labor market were able to break into management, if only in the lower echelons. No local non-college men were in the professions.

Occupationally mobile non-college female 46ers from blue-collar families were confined almost exclusively to jobs in the lower professions and lower management, but leaving Rail City improved their chances for achieving both types of jobs. In fact, non-college 46er women who left Rail City were as successful as their male counterparts in obtaining such positions. It would appear that in the local job market, however, the glass ceiling limited movement into lower management.

The large-scale out-migration of 46ers from blue-collar families in Rail City typifies the experience of many rust-belt communities. The best educated

among the children of the industrial work force leave for lack of opportunity. As a consequence, poorer industrial communities bear much of the cost of educating children, most of whom contribute to richer post-industrial centers. The more successful rust-belt communities are in building an effective educational system the more opportunity young persons have to move up and out. A similar set of circumstances has characterized rural to urban migration for more than a century (Sher, 1981,p.4).

When a high proportion of young people with working-class backgrounds from failing communities succeed in achieving managerial and professional careers, as is true of the 46ers in this study, the contrast of their success to their family and community background is dramatic. For the casual observer such success can easily seem to certify the United States as a land of opportunity.

In Rail City, however, there are the approximately 50% of young men and 25% of young women who should have been in the 1946 high school graduation class but who dropped out of school. For them living in Rail City was more a matter of constraint than opportunity. Their probable wholesale entrapment in lower-status occupations contrasts sharply with the extensive mobility into higher-status positions by their contemporaries from working-class families who continued their education. Such a divergence in occupational outcomes almost certainly differentiates between the most poorly educated and their better educated contemporaries in any community. The careers of these dropouts are likely to be deemed unnoteworthy and go unnoticed; so that both selective reality and selective perception contribute to the image of the United States as an open society.

FOOTNOTE

1. Because having a higher profession without a B.A. is unusual, we did a case analysis of these three men. The education and occupation for each of the three men were (1) some college - architect for state government, (2) some college - general accountant for a railroad and (3) high school - designer for a manufacturer. Although the self-classifications are ambiguous, they are not necessarily incorrect.

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TABLE 1

EDUCATION BY SEX FOR 1946 GRADUATES WITH BLUE-COLLAR FATHERS
(RAIL CITY)

| Education | Sex | |
|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female |
| | % | % |
| Less than H.S. | 1 | 1/1 |
| High School | 34 | 64 |
| H.S. plus Technical Training | 13 | 18 |
| Some College | 17 | 11 |
| College | 10 | 3 |
| College Plus | 25 | 4 |
| | 100% (114) | 100% (185) |

Tau c .37 p< .01

Missing cases = 2

TABLE 2

RESIDENCE BY EDUCATION AND SEX FOR 1946 H.S. GRADUATES
WITH BLUE-COLLAR FATHERS
(RAIL CITY)

PERCENT OF 46ERS WHO LIVE OUTSIDE RAIL CITY

| Education | Males | | Females | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | (n) | % | (n) |
| Less than H.S. | 1/1 | | 1/1 | |
| High School | 46 | (39) | 60 | (119) |
| H.S. Plus Technical Training | 67 | (15) | 70 | (33) |
| Some College | 79 | (19) | 90 | (20) |
| College | 82 | (11) | 5/5 | |
| College Plus | 89 | (28) | 6/7 | |
| Overall Totals | 69 | (113) | 68 | (185) |

Note: Based on Chi Square no comparisons by sex on residence are significant for any of the educational categories.
Missing cases = 3

TABLE 3

1946 H.S. GRADUATES IN PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL POSITIONS WHOSE FATHERS WERE IN BLUE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS BY EDUCATION, SEX AND RESIDENCE (RAIL CITY)

| Forty-sixer Men in Occupation | | | | Forty-sixer Women in Occupation | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| College or More | Non College | Total | Occupation | Total | College or More | Non-College |
| **Total Sample** | | | | | | |
| % | % | % | | % | % | % |
| 38 | 4 | 16 | Higher Professional | 1 | 1/10 | -- |
| 20 | 6 | 11 | Lower Professional | 14 | 5/10 | 12 |
| 20 | 11 | 14 | Higher Management | 2 | 1/10 | 1 |
| 12 | 29 | 23 | Lower Management | 19 | 1/10 | 20 |
| 88% | 49% | 64% | Total in Elite | 36% | 8/10 | 33% |
| (40) | (73) | (113) | = 100% = | (123) | (10) | (113) |
| **Reside in Rail City** | | | | | | |
| % | % | % | | % | % | % |
| 2/5 | -- | 6 | Higher Professional | -- | -- | -- |
| 1/5 | -- | 9 | Lower Professional | 8 | 1/1 | 5 |
| 1/5 | 7 | 6 | Higher Management | -- | -- | -- |
| -- | 38 | 31 | Lower Management | 13 | -- | 13 |
| 4/5 | 45% | 52% | Total in Elite | 21% | (1) | 18% |
| (5) | (29) | (34) | = 100% = | (39) | (1) | (38) |
| **Reside Outside Rail City** | | | | | | |
| % | % | % | | % | % | % |
| 34 | 7 | 19 | Higher Professional | 1 | 1/9 | -- |
| 20 | 9 | 14 | Lower Professional | 18 | 4/9 | 15 |
| 20 | 14 | 16 | Higher Management | 2 | 1/9 | 1 |
| 14 | 23 | 19 | Lower Management | 21 | 1/9 | 23 |
| 88% | 53% | 68% | Total in Elite | 42% | 7/9 | 39% |
| (35) | (44) | (79) | = 100% = | (84) | (9) | (75) |

Note: Based on chi square the following comparisons are significant at $p<.05$

Total Sample - In elite occupation by sex

For men: distribution in elite occupations by education

Residence partials -

For non-college and total (Rail City and Outside): in elite occupation by sex

For men (non-college and total) in elite occupation by residence (lower management excluded)

For women (non-college and total) In elite occupation by residence (lower management included)